

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

Propaganda: How the War Office does it

PAGE FOUR

No. 939

Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

June 25, 1954

Registered as a newspaper.

FOURPENCE (U.S. Air Express)  
Edition: 10 cts.

## GUATEMALA AND THE UNITED NATIONS Why the difference from Korea?

From a Political Correspondent

**L**AST Sunday there was an emergency call for a meeting of the UN Security Council. There was a similar emergency call for a Sunday afternoon session four years ago: on June 25, 1950.

The difference in the events that followed is very illuminating.

A report that South Korea had been invaded reached the United Nations early on June 25, 1950. The Security Council met on the same day and unanimously passed a resolution (the Russian representative not being present) declaring that there had been an attack which constituted a breach of the peace, calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities, requiring that the North Koreans should withdraw, and urging all members of UN to give every assistance in the execution of the resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Koreans.

Two days later (June 27) a further resolution endorsed military measures against North Korea, and it was made known that the USA had already taken military action in anticipation of the passing of the resolution.

On the morning of June 19, 1954, the

### "NO ONE IS DUPED"

"The importance of the means utilised by Castillo-Armas shows sufficiently whose is the blow and who is directing. Aero-planes, arms, munitions and equipment have been furnished by the United States. The 'army of liberation' includes many foreigners.

"No-one is duped in Latin America. What people are already calling 'the attack on Guatemala by the United States,' whatever may be the outcome of the war, risks lowering a little more the prestige of Washington."

—Marcel Niedergang, Special Correspondent in South America for Le Monde (Paris).

President of the Security Council received a report that an invasion of Guatemala was being launched from Honduras and Nicaragua. A meeting of the Council was arranged for the following day, Sunday, June 20.

At this meeting the Government of Guatemala

\* Continued on back page

## German rearmament

FACTS LABOUR MUST NOT IGNORE  
By Stuart Morris

**T**HE pamphlet which the Labour Party has issued in an attempt to justify German Rearmament, "In Defence of Europe," is based on two assumptions for which no evidence is offered.

1. That German rearmament and EDC is necessary because of the aggressive military designs of the Soviet Union;

2. That it is not possible to stop German rearmament, therefore, it is better to have it controlled rather than uncontrolled.

That the USSR desires the domination of the world by Communism is probably true, but that is quite a different matter to a threat of military aggression and cannot be met by plans based upon a military defence force. It might well be asked, indeed, why, if the assumption is correct, Russia did not pursue her plans when the road to the Channel ports was comparatively open to her.

The comparison of rival armaments given in the pamphlet is unfair. It omits such questions as the relative size of the frontiers which each wants to defend, and the Russian fear of the West, particularly of American policy as seen both by their retention of atomic power in their own hands as long as possible and their increasing acquisition of military bases in Europe.

The pamphlet makes great play with the rejection by the Soviet countries of the Marshal Plan.

But it disregards the fact that many people believe that it would have been better in the long run if Britain had not accepted American aid and so found herself tied to American policy.

It also ignores Russia's recently expressed willingness to enter a general scheme for European defence.

□ On back page

## Dr SOPER on peace prospects 'Public opinion is moving in the right direction'

**T**ALKING of his experiences during his Presidential year, Dr. Soper, President of the Methodist Conference, said last week that he had an overall picture of a Church which is saying "No" sometimes in the right places and very often in the wrong ones.

Dr. Soper, who was addressing Christian pacifists at the Annual Meeting of the London Fellowship of Reconciliation, said there was an awakened interest in religious matters, but no strengthening of the true Christian Church. This could only come when, added to the rejection of evil, Christian people committed themselves to a positive programme—the programme of pacifism.

On the political scene we were getting to the end of our tether. We had seen the whole process of non-pacifism. There was no means whereby the economic structure of society could be sustained with any hope of feeding the hungry or raising the general level of human livelihood because we were moving into an age in which the price of armaments was positively destructive of the Welfare State.

"Every single international conference since the war has broken down because they have not had an impartial Chairman.

"You cannot get anything done unless there can be somewhere a person who is not on either side. Otherwise there is nobody trustworthy; no one dreams of telling the truth about arms. Pacifism is the only way that can provide that kind of impartiality in the world today."

### "MY PACIFISM"

In the final analysis the prime business of members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was to heal breaches, bring people together and provide a spiritual basis by which they may remain together. "My pacifism has been rooted in Christianity" said Dr. Soper. "I want to offer something out of my experience this year:

"There is a marked difference between the early days of the Peace Army and these days.

"Whereas before we were regarded as scandalous, now we are only regarded as idiots. That is a move in the right direction.

"Once we were evil: now we are just absurd. I have a new sense that this pacifist case has been commending itself to people not as truthful but as honourable.

"I have found a preparedness on the part of people to begin to think again. I do not trace it to Hiroshima but to this slow but inevitable sense that we are going in the wrong direction, and nothing meets the case.

"There is a very much more fluid situation in the thoughts of many people than was so 27 years ago at the beginning of my Tower Hill work. We are not hammering at minds already closed, but can put something through a small letter-box. And people go to the letter-box to see if there is anything there."

## TATTOO PROTEST TOMORROW

**A**T least fifty marchers are expected to take part in a Leeds protest tomorrow (Saturday) against the staging in that city of the biggest military tattoo since the war.

The Joint Protest Committee has been busy distributing 20,000 leaflets calling attention to the fact that military demonstrations are hardly likely to promote the kind of attitude necessary if the world is to be saved from H-bomb war.

Volunteer paraders are asked to assemble at the foot of the Leeds Town Hall steps at 3 pm.

## PACIFISTS AND THE H-BOMB Trafalgar Square rally planned

By WALLACE HANCOCK

**N**OW that the preliminary work in London has been set in motion the H-bomb campaign launched at the Friends House Meeting on May 18 will be carried into the whole country by methods similar to those carried out in London.

The pacifist organisations (which can count on the help of Quaker Meetings), have over 1,000 groups. It is thus obvious that the next steps in the campaign must be taken by the combined effort of the various organisations which are working as part of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

The following steps can now be taken by pacifists in addition to the six points recently outlined by Sybil Morrison.

(a) Make attendance at your local group a first priority.

(b) See that immediate steps are taken in your district to call this joint campaign committee and make sure that effective plans are made for work in your area. Get together, and keep together.

(c) Let your Head Office know what you are doing and how you are getting on. If you make an experiment which succeeds tell them all about it so that it may be tried elsewhere.

(d) Remember that the H-bomb is not a passing threat. This crisis is going to be with us for a long time. Plan on this assumption. To succeed this campaign must gather momentum as the months pass.

### "We reach thousands this way"

Trafalgar Square is booked for Saturday September 4. Plans are under way for a march to the Square, a mass meeting to be followed in the nearby Westminster Friends Meeting House by a tea buffet, Peace Exhibition and "Any Questions" session in the evening. Book the date now.

Leicester and Loughborough pacifists are organising public meetings and a poster parade.

□ ON BACK PAGE

## HOPE OR HUMBUG?



Unations.

View of the United Nations Buildings on the bank of the East River in New York.

1,000 could not get into Sydney meeting

## COBALT BOMB "FOR MADMEN ONLY"

Professor Oliphant

**F**OUR thousand people crowded Sydney Town Hall while another thousand could not get in to hear four leading Australians discuss the H-bomb on April 8.

Professor M. Oliphant, of the National University in Canberra, internationally noted nuclear scientist, after explaining the difference between a fission explosion, in which the nucleus of an atom is divided, and a fusion explosion, in which atoms of hydrogen are made to combine to form heavier atoms, said that the fusion of one pound of hydrogen would level any city, and render radioactive all the upper air. Winds would carry the radioactive contamination round the world.

Technologists had been surprised that Russia had so soon been able to make an H-bomb, but scientists had never underrated Russia.

The atomic race was on with three nations in it—USA, USSR and Britain. The hydrogen race was on with USA and USSR, but soon all nations, even small ones, would have hydrogen weapons. There was no defence except to go deep into the earth. War was so absurd, so inhuman, so immoral that it must never be allowed to begin.

"Man has not advanced morally since the dawn of history. The atrocities of earlier men are trivial compared with the mass bombings of cities of which we Christian people were

guilty in the last war," said the Professor.

Professor Stout, professor of Moral and Political Philosophy in Sydney University, speaking of the need to relieve world tensions, said that the West should stop its anti-Communist tirades and return to international good manners.

Professor Julius Stone, also of Sydney University stressed the moral threat in the depersonalisation of slaughter. Science with the blessing of religion and law slays millions and nobody is felt as the slayer. The airman who drops a bomb on a city is not felt by himself or by others as morally responsible.

The Rev. Canon E. J. Davidson of Sydney said that there was hope of peace only if any nation was prepared to exercise self-restraint for a period of years. Otherwise civilisation will be destroyed.

### The Cobalt bomb

The following week Professor Oliphant was reported as saying in Sydney:

"Only madmen or devils would contemplate the use of cobalt bombs, or other weapons designed to spread long-lived radioactivity over the earth."

"Only a devil would deliberately spread sterility and impotence among mankind, his own side included, or store up genetic monstrosities for the future," he said.

"I believe that men and women all over the world will demand of their leaders that, at whatever cost in national sovereignty and individual power, an international authority, backed by adequate policing strength, must be established to impose peace upon the world."

"This is no loss of freedom. It is the task of the newspapers, and of all organs of publicity, to spread knowledge of the threat which faces humanity and to help build a properly thought-out plan for preserving peace. "Patience is needed, but so is speed. The hands of the clock point almost to midnight. Only we, the ordinary people, can ensure that the new day will dawn, and war become a lost and incomprehensible sin of the past."

### Woolwich Arsenal next

**W**OOLWICH ARSENAL will be the venue for an "Objective Peace" demonstration on July 3.

An open-air meeting will take place by the Arsenal gates at 3 p.m., when the speakers will be the Rev. Jeans Courtney, Stuart Morris and Dr. A. D. Belden.

Earlier, at 2 p.m., a poster parade will leave Plumstead Central Hall, Plumstead High St.

A peace exhibition and buffet will open in the Plumstead Central Hall at 5 p.m. to be followed at 7 p.m. by an "Any Questions" session. The panel will include the speakers at the open-air meeting and others. Question-master will be a local Quaker, Jack Stevens.

More poster parades will be welcomed. Offers to the Non-violent Resistance Group, 79 Lordship Park, London, N.16.



## PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4  
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

June 25 1954

### MR. ATTLEE'S BROADCAST

NOT many British listeners will have heard Mr. Attlee's broadcast "The Political Problem" in the "Hydrogen bomb" series, because it was delivered on the European Service, but everybody, whether they are pacifists or accept power politics, will do well to read it in the Listener (June 17), and not only to read it but to ponder carefully its menacing significance.

There is nothing in the broadcast that is consciously startling, least of all in the conclusions, coming from one of the nation's foremost political leaders, unless one permits oneself to be startled by their inadequacy to the problem that is being discussed. But then Mr. Attlee is not one to whom people look for intentionally startling pronouncements. Nevertheless there are some passages that are startling merely by reason of the fact that their author can handle them in such a limited and matter-of-fact manner.

★ ★

The most startling of all—and we find this really staggering—is the example Mr. Attlee finds it necessary to provide that once there is a war "if the existence of a nation is at stake any weapon will be used in the last resort." To demonstrate this he feels he has to seek a hypothetical instance, and then comes the following astonishing passage:

"I have said that we have been compelled to use weapons that we would not have thought of using forty years ago. Who can doubt after reading 'Hitler's Last Days,' that even at the very end of the war if Hitler had had an atom bomb, he would have used it even if there had been the possibility of retaliation?"

We have always found it a source of wonder that decent people who had had to carry a share of responsibility for what was done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could find it possible to live normal lives afterwards and were apparently immune from the psychical collapse that compelled the young airman who dropped the bomb to retire from the world.

Is this passage of Mr. Attlee's a clue to the explanation? Is it possible that he has become blessed with partial amnesia, and that he is no longer aware that atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and that this indiscriminate destruction of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children did not call for the compulsion of "the last resort" before it was decided upon?

The centre of Mr. Attlee's broadcast is to be found in the earlier passage he is referring to in the extract we have already cited. He speaks of the enormous changes that have taken place in the character of war and of things that men are prepared to do in war in the present century. From the South African war "we can trace the changes up through other wars, first the Great War and then the second Great War. All the time the restrictions on warfare have been steadily evaded. About forty years ago, the kind of action that was taken in the last war would have been thought absolutely abhorrent to civilised people, yet it is less than forty years since the zeppelins were over London. See what a long way we have travelled since then."

It will be observed that although the diabolical bombing policy that Sir Arthur Harris was deputed to organise during World War II, and for which he has had so many honours conferred upon him, would earlier have been thought "absolutely abhorrent," Mr. Attlee does not feel it necessary to consider the question of moral responsibility in relation to it. These were things that had to happen. The policy of "saturation bombing" was something upon which the Government, of which Mr. Attlee was an important member, had to decide. There is no moral question that arises. It simply does not exist.

And in quietly making this assumption, Mr. Attlee is, of course, right. No moral issue does arise. When war is entered upon there is one principle and one only; and this has to do service for every moral consideration: the principle of victory.

★ ★

That has always been inherent in warfare, but today it is a fact that looms over everything. It not only threatens our destruction; it is already destroying us. Mr. Attlee is begging a question when he assumes that "civilised people" are ready to endorse in warfare today things that would previously have been absolutely abhorrent to them. For civilisation can only exist where there is a foundation of moral values. Those basic values are already leaving us. If we continue for a few more years the process of adjusting our minds so that we may be able to contemplate using the weapons that have become available we shall have destroyed them completely.

The adoption by a people of a pacifist policy of unqualified rejection of resort to war for any purpose may not save lives, institutions or national existence. It is, however, the only policy that can save civilisation.

## The Japanese and the Hydrogen Bomb

By ALFRED TUCKER

The writer was recently in Japan, representing the War Resisters' International at a gathering of world pacifists.

DURING my visit to Japan for the World Pacifist Conference I saw and spoke to a number of the victims of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom bombs of 1945 who have lived on.

Medical science knows of no cure for the ills arising, and the effects may not show themselves for years after exposure to radio-activity.

### Pictures

At Hiroshima we saw an exhibition of authentic pictures painted by an artist who was buried under the debris of his house but was fortunate enough to escape with his life. The horrors have been described by medical people in terms which leave no doubt of the far-reaching consequences: bone marrow and blood cells destroyed; secondary bacteriological infection; leukaemia; abnormal child birth and so on.

To all that is added the greatly increased effects of the hydrogen bomb and the possibility that it will create poison gases.

The Western World was informed of the illness of the fishermen who were amongst the first victims; but the seriousness of their condition was not revealed by the Japanese doctors lest news of it got back to the patients and retarded their recovery.

Even while we were at Osaka a whaling fleet returned from its scene of operations 1000 miles from the explosion; fission products of plutonium were found on the boats, the men and the fish.

Whale products which had been prepared at sea and put into refrigerators were unaffected when examined, but to get them out without contamination presented a problem, and masks worn by the investigating physicists became radio-active too. Precautionary measures are planned to make blood counts of crews return-

ing to Japan, to test samples of sea-water taken from places widely separated, to test rain and snow which have been known to be radioactive.

A country which is so mountainous that only 15 per cent. of its surface is arable, and which is greatly over-populated, cannot grow sufficient vegetable or animal protein for its diet, so relies largely on sea-products (sea-weed and fish of many kinds) to supply the necessary protein.

### Complications

When that source is contaminated, or even when it is feared that it may be so, people lose confidence and do not buy; fishermen and tradesmen lose their livelihood and citizens their health. To add to the complications, political considerations have led to severe restrictions of fishing grounds by China (both Formosa and the mainland), Korea, USSR and USA, so that Japanese fishermen are hit from all directions and the economy of the country is menaced.

### Off for the week-end

IF, during their visit to Washington this weekend, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary are able to explain the reasons for the line which Britain has taken at Geneva and at the same time emphasise our determination to stick to it, the visit can do nothing but good.

And it is, indeed, all to the good that they will not be going to Washington immediately after failure at Geneva, as once seemed possible.

It will be their task to do everything possible to win the President to a more favourable and positive attitude towards a peace settlement in the Far East, and to prevent anything in the nature of a new line-up against Communism.

If they could secure that America will not continue to oppose the admission of the Peking Government to UN, but will think in terms of reaching a settlement with the Communists over Korea, Indo-China and Germany, instead of being afraid of agreement and mis-calling it appeasement; if they can encourage the banning of the H-bomb and American help towards total disarmament; and if they can persuade President Eisenhower to attend a conference which would include Mr. Malenkov, their visit may be the prelude to better days.

### Mendes-France accepted

IN recent years success has not usually met the efforts of the first Frenchman who tried to form a new government, and by obtaining a preliminary vote of confidence M. Mendes-France has succeeded now where he failed twelve months ago.

A favourable vote in the French Parliament followed a short and dramatic but sincere and able speech from a politician who showed himself prepared to face the realities of the situation.

This was evidenced by his setting a time limit within which he hopes to secure an honorable agreement over Indo-China, and by his readiness to find some compromise on the question of European Defence.

The former undertaking seems to indicate a determination to go further than M. Laniel was prepared to go to end the colonial war: the latter to a recognition of the impossibility of obtaining ratification of EDC in its present form and a readiness to discuss an alternative.

His refusal to accept a vote of confidence if that could only be obtained by the votes of the Communist deputies was also an astute move.

We hope that the new Prime Minister will be encouraged to end the war in Indo-China within the month he has allowed and to make clear beyond doubt that no French Government will be in the position to ratify EDC.

### Turning the screw

NO aid for any country which fails to agree to German rearmament is the proposal made by a senior State Department official and accepted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

This is the latest attempt to bribe or coerce France and Italy to ratify a treaty which they are unwilling to accept, though it is understood that the ban will not apply to assistance in war materials for use in Indo-China.

Apart from the fact that it is morally wrong for the State Department to try to coerce another government to follow American policy, it is questionable political wisdom to try to secure unwilling adherence to a plan which America regards as so vital.

It can hardly improve relations or increase confidence between France and the USA.

Much has been written and said about the collapse of France in the early days of the 1939 war; such action is hardly the way to ensure against similar collapse in a similar situation.

### Hope at Geneva

THANKS on this occasion to Mr. Chou En-lai, the talks on Indo-China have not met the same fate as those on Korea.

## BEHIND THE NEWS

After private discussions with Mr. Eden he made new proposals which have not only kept the conference in being but give a fair prospect for a settlement. He has moved some way towards Western claims that Laos and Cambodia be regarded as having legitimate governments and treated separately and differently from Vietnam.

Chou En-lai's claim that there should be no foreign bases in Laos and Cambodia is reasonable and should present no difficulty. The resignation of the Vietnam Government and the appointment of Ngo Dinh Dien as Prime Minister may well help.

The new Prime Minister is a Catholic Nationalist and though there is no doubt of his anti-Communism, he is believed to favour negotiations.

Indian comment emphasises the fact that if the will to achieve success really existed on both sides, the way would be found, and though conference procedure may have to slow down because of the situation in France and the impending visit of Mr. Eden to America, we believe there is now a real basis for settlement.

### Chance for Syngman Rhee?

WE cannot accept the view that the Communist representatives are alone to blame for the breakdown of the Korean talks at Geneva.

The real cause of the deadlock was the insistence of the other 16 representatives on maintaining the authority of the United Nations, and their demand that the Communists should do the same.

Not only was that a claim that the United Nations could behave as victors in a war and dictate terms, but it entirely ignored the fact that refusal to admit the Peking Government has undermined any authority which UN might have had in the Far East.

Nor is it fair to assert that while the 16 UN delegates wanted free elections, the Communists would not permit this. The same untrue suggestion was made in connection with the breakdown of the Berlin conference, whereas in both cases the Communists agreed to the necessity of free elections.

What they have wished to ensure in each case is that free elections would not result in either Korea or Germany becoming part of the so-called defence system of the Western world.

The East cannot be expected to surrender what control they have of North Korea or Eastern Germany only to see America stepping in. The neutrality of a united Germany and a united Korea is the answer.

The breakdown of the Korean talks revives the fear of what Syngman Rhee may do. His Foreign Minister has already announced that South Korea regards the failure at Geneva as ending the armistice and freeing its hands.

It is to be hoped that the United Nations will be able to show some of the authority claimed for it by restraining Rhee from any action which might not only reopen hostilities in Korea, but even lead to world war.

The armistice must be prolonged in the hope that further consideration at UN and by China and North Korea may yet bring an acceptable compromise. Nothing would help this so much as the immediate admission of the Peking Government to UN. That is probably the key to the whole situation.

### London and Peking

AT last the Peking Government has agreed to send to London a Charge d'Affaires who will have the same posi-

tion as the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking.

The United Kingdom had an embassy accredited to the previous government of China and a consul on Formosa. When the British Government recognised the Peking Government as the de facto government of China, the First Secretary of the Embassy became the British Charge d'Affaires in the sense that it has always been the purpose of a Charge d'Affaires to conduct diplomatic relations for the purpose of establishing a full Embassy.

The maintenance of the British consul on Formosa, to which the Peking Government took exception, and the declaration by UN of China as an aggressor has prevented the Peking Government from sending a Charge d'Affaires to London and the British Government from entering into full diplomatic relations with the Peking Government.

It is one of the fruitful results of the contacts which Mr. Eden has made with Chou En-lai in Geneva that this anomalous position has now been rectified.

We hope that the Charge d'Affaires in London will be warmly welcomed. The fact that there will in future be in both capitals a diplomat charged with the business of restoring full diplomatic status should lead not only to increased trade but to a better understanding generally between the two countries.

### Ghost of Dr. Goebbels

SOME months ago we commented adversely on an attempt by Dr. Adenauer to muzzle the German press.

That attempt, dropped at the time, has been revived through the creation by the Chancellor of a "Co-ordinating Committee for Press Affairs" under the chairmanship of Dr. Otto Lenz, who has always desired a Ministry of Propaganda.

There are several unsatisfactory features about the committee. It is not to be responsible to the Bundestag, and how it is to be financed is not disclosed.

Some of the leading German papers express the view that the purpose of the committee is not to ensure that the public shall be better informed, but to mould their opinions and even lead them astray as Dr. Adenauer desires.

### Dangerous way to unity

THAT the formation of a new association in Western Germany as a national movement for reunification might have far-reaching repercussions was indicated in the speech of Herr Kaiser, Minister for All-German Affairs, at its inauguration.

He claimed that the 18 million Germans in the Soviet Zone were being slowly lost to and estranged from the Federal Republic.

Though Herr Kaiser, unlike Dr. Adenauer, has tended to put German unity before co-operation with the West, there remains the danger that the plea for German unity unless it is recognised as of prior importance by Britain, France and America, might easily become (and not less so in a rearmament Germany) an appeal to liberate the East Germans and to restore the lost provinces if necessary by war.

### How far in one hour?

THE latest American report on Civil Defence serves once more to stress the fact that not only is there no defence against atomic attack but that there is virtually nothing that can be done to save the civil population from its effect.

It is admitted that the danger of unheralded attack cannot be excluded but it is hoped that about one hour's notice might be given to the large centres of population. That, it is estimated, would give people a chance to move two miles. With some experience of the time taken to reach the Marble Arch or Charing Cross from Euston during the Christmas rush or when some procession is imminent, we believe that this is highly optimistic, but in any case what is the use of moving two miles from the centre of an H-Bomb blast? Most people if they have to die, would prefer to die at home.

But the fatalism of the report is completely unnecessary if instead of the vain and delusive attempts to persuade people of the value of Civil Defence, governments would go to the same trouble to provide the only possible answer to the H-Bomb by ensuring that it is never used at all as part of the process of general disarmament and the renunciation of war. Pacifist speakers are accustomed to the retort "Why don't you go and say that in Russia?" It is not unfair to remind doubters that actions speak louder than words and there is no better way of saying to the Russians what we want them to hear and accept than by taking the actions which we would like to see them take.

If Britain would give the lead by unilateral disarmament we should be speaking to the Russians in a language they could hear, understand, believe in, and follow.



## WOULD NOT BE CONSCRIPTED CO has 12 months sentence cut

A SENTENCE of 12 months imposed on a conscientious objector who refused to undertake any alternative to military service has been reduced by three months on appeal.

R. David Langman, an Attender at Stafford Quaker Meeting, was registered conditionally when he appeared at an Appellate Tribunal last December.

At that time he had no objection to conditional exemption, but later became convinced that he could not accept it and refused to comply with a direction to undertake hospital work. He told the Stafford Borough Magistrates on May 10 that he had been forced to the conclusion that he must take the absolutist position on the matter of conscription.

The Chairman of the Bench said they would like to know more about the absolutist position, and David Langman explained:

Conscription condones the use of warfare and if one accepted any conditions one was condoning the imposition of conscription on young men in this country, and was condoning the conscription act and warfare itself; the absolutist believed that the conscription law was immoral, and he believed he was doing his best for world peace by taking that position.

After the Magistrates had retired, the Chairman said he was afraid the Bench had no alternative but to send David Langman to prison for 12 months.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors sponsored an appeal against the sentence, and this was heard at Staffordshire Quarter Sessions on June 10 when Mr. Norman Carr, instructed by Mr. H. B. Keight, appeared for the appellant. The sentence was reduced to nine months, and David Langman has now been transferred to the open prison near Aylesbury.

David Langman, who is 23 years old, had been employed as a research engineer by the English Electric Co., where he was engaged on work connected with cancer research.

A sentence of 12 months imposed on George B. March, of Sheffield, for a similar offence was reduced to three months on appeal in January last.

## Jersey gets call-up

AN unsuccessful attempt was made two years ago to introduce compulsory military service in Jersey and now the National Service (Jersey) Law which it is intended will operate for four years from the day it comes into effect, has been passed by the Jersey States Assembly by a majority of only one vote.

Liability for service involves male British persons normally resident in the island who have reached the age of 18 and have not reached the age of 26 at the time of coming into force of the Law, and is for two years' whole-time service and three and a half years on reserve service. There are six articles in the Bill concerning conscientious objection.

Opposition to the Bill came from the former secretary of the Jersey Peace Pledge Union; the Quakers and several supporters of their views, and also from those who are against it for economic, political and domestic reasons.

Many agree to conscription but only if it is independent of Whitehall and if the training be done in Jersey itself.

In letters to the Jersey Press and at a public meeting, resentment has been expressed at the fact that the electors have been given no opportunity to endorse or reject the Bill, the preamble to which states that the Law is "the desire of the people of Jersey."

One writer suggested that "a far nobler future for Jersey youth would be to emulate the Friends Ambulance Units, whose courage and devotion were always unquestioned."

## ONLY . . .

ONLY £193 and it is June," writes one of the contributors to Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Funds. "Call it 194 guineas," and he enclosed the balance.

His help and that of several other readers of Peace News has raised the total of Headquarters Fund to £224, but I am afraid that it is still necessary to say "only £224." That is not to minimise the efforts which those who have sent money have made, but to remind the very many others that at the half-way mark of the year we have only received £224 out of the £1,000 we need in 1954.

If only you—yes, I mean you who are reading this—would help us with some contribution, however small, the total could rise to £500 by the end of the half-year. But it does depend on you—on your taking a share in our mutual endeavours and not on leaving it to someone else, or thinking that because you can only send a little it is not worth while. It is doubly worth while. Worth while to us if you only send 6d., if you cannot really afford more. Worth while to you because you will be helping the cause which is of such overwhelming importance at a time which is so vital and opportune.

"Only—a little?" It will be just as welcome. "I meant to—only I forgot." Well, do it at once. You certainly won't be the only one who will send. Don't run the risk of being the only one who does not!

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000.  
Amount received to date: £224.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## U.S. SENATE HEARS EVIDENCE AGAINST PHONE-TAPPING

# Why not thumbscrew and the rack too!

PROTEST against the tapping of telephones for any purposes whatsoever was made by an American Quaker when he appeared before a sub-committee of the American Senate recently.

The Committee has before it the request from the Attorney-General for permission to use wire-tap evidence in the courts in cases of suspected espionage, sabotage or subversion.

The Quaker, William A. Rahill, a member of the Friends Committee on National Legislation of Washington, testifying against "any and all wire-tapping," said:

"A free people must continually be on the alert to see that the means employed to preserve their government are compatible with ends that government was framed to serve."

## Things we do not do

He also said: "We agree with the Attorney General in that part of his testimony before your Sub-committee last month where he said that if he were permitted to utilise in criminal proceedings against alleged spies and saboteurs, evidence obtained by wire tapping, it would simplify his job of securing the nation."

But by the same reasoning, so would the thumbscrew and the rack make possible the detection of these people. There are certain things that we in a democracy do not do even to protect ourselves."

At the conclusion of William Rahill's testimony, the Chairman of the Committee,

Senator Walker, said that he had always respected the Quakers.

"I want to say to you that I have examined hundreds and hundreds of witnesses since I have been in the Senate . . . I have never enjoyed more the examination of any other witness than you, because you have been profound, sincere and I know you have made a great study. We may differ as reasonable minds may always differ, but I certainly respect you and I commend you very highly, sir."

On May 18, Senator Morse of Oregon delivered in the Senate the first of a series of speeches on wire-tapping.

In his judgment wire-tapping proposals threatened historic gains in protecting the privacy and security of the home.

"Freedom and rights that have been long enjoyed are too often taken for granted. The decades of sacrifice with which they were earned are too soon forgotten," he said.

## 'Our nation must lead for peace'

"Regardless of what others do, our nation must take the lead now in pressing for the outlawing and scrapping of all weapons of mass destruction, and, thereby, for the abolition of war itself," declared members of the "Third Peace Workshop," after they had met at the Missouri Church of the Brethren, Plattsburg, Missouri, USA.

## VIETNAMESE JOURNALIST'S 16-DAY FAST AT GENEVA

### He wanted cease-fire

"THE capitalists talk of humanity and the Communists talk of peace and of liberty, but they are all preparing an infernal war, driving the human species towards a fatal end."

These words were shown on a sign outside a tent which sheltered Vo Song-thiet, a Vietnamese, who carried out a 16-day total fast at Geneva to synchronise with the conference of the powers. After his fast he was taken to hospital in a serious condition.

Edmund Privat, a well-known Swiss radio commentator, in an article in the Swiss journal Co-operation says of Vo:

## Admired Gandhi

"He admired Gandhi and his non-violent method. He had made a tour of Europe on a bicycle, in a spirit of humility, speaking French and Esperanto so that he might make contact with the different populations, putting down his tent in the evening and sleeping in a park or in a garden so that he should not put anybody to inconvenience. A leader in Vietnam enlightenment, experienced in the instruction of youth, he was also a poet and became a journalist in Europe to plead the case for a cease-fire in Indo-China."

In a letter about Vo's fast Duncan Wood writes from the Quaker Centre in Geneva:

"I would stress that this was not a publicity stunt, though as one must perhaps expect the Press was buzzing around and interrupting the course of his prayer and meditation. Consequently Vo did get some publicity that he had not intended. On the whole the attitude of the Genevese was very understanding and restrained."

## Social scientists study the prevention of war

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

EXCITING things are undertaken at Swarthmore College: probably the only place in the world where scientific research into the prevention of war is being carried out.

"It seems clear from our brief consideration that foreign policy is psychologically researchable," says Maurice L. Faber in the May issue of the bulletin published from the College by the Research Exchange for the Prevention of War. "The point is that as trained professionals we psychologists are best equipped to carry on these urgently necessary jobs."

From the standpoint of a social psychologist Maurice Faber in this issue discusses the change in American foreign policy "from containment to instant and massive retaliation," examines the policy-makers, their methods of communication via press, radio and television; the nature of the threat itself and its possible deterrent effect.

The Research Exchange, from which this bi-monthly bulletin emanates, was set up at Swarthmore College in 1952 by a group of social scientists who aimed at the development of an integrated and usable body of knowledge about the elimination of war. Here the sources of international tensions are examined, the policies needed in specific conflict situations analysed; conditions necessary to a peaceful world explored; and a science of international relations gradually built up.

Those who think in terms of "governments" and those who think in terms of "people" contribute alike to the research.

The bulletin includes news of workshops organised by the Exchange, research proposals and discussion on them, bibliographies, and reviews of current and past literature related to the research.

Subscriptions, or requests for back copies, should be sent to Kitty F. Frank, Psychology Dept., Washington University, St. Louis 5, Missouri, USA.

June 25, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

## New UNESCO aids to peacemaking

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) regularly produces publications which are of the greatest value in the objective study of world affairs. Some recent examples are:

Co-operatives and Fundamental Education by Maurice Colombain, 7s. 6d., \$1.25. A description by a well-known authority on the co-operative movement of some forty experiments which have made significant contributions to raising standards of living. It deals with co-operatives in Europe, India, China and other parts of the world.

The Race Concept, 2s. 6d., \$ .50. This is the result of a Unesco enquiry into the race question and embodies the views of 69 scientists from 23 countries. It is a most valuable book for those interested in combating race prejudice because it provides the scientific facts.

The Catholic Church and the Race Question by the Rev. Father Yves, M. J. Congar, OP, 2s., \$ .40. This is a different book on the same problem. It does not set out to be "scientific" but to present the Catholic attitude to race from the spiritual, social and historical points of view.

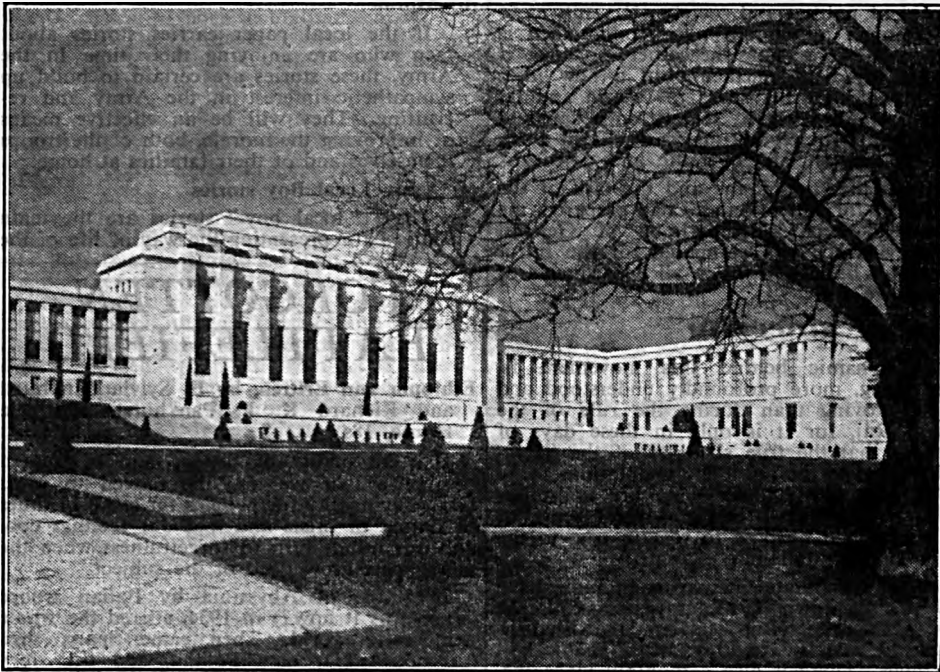
Suggestions on the Teaching of History by C. Peter Hill, 4s., \$ .75. This is an analysis of the suggestions of seventy teachers from 32 countries who met to discuss the teaching of history as a means of developing international understanding. It is well laid-out and should be invaluable to teachers and youth-workers aiming at fostering unbiased thinking among children.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights—a guide for teachers, 3s., \$ .50. This is another book in the same series as the one previous. It discusses the possibility of direct teaching about human rights and effective methods. It stresses also the need to impart the spirit of the Declaration and to encourage in children its spontaneous acceptance in terms of ordinary human behaviour.

All these books are obtainable from Housman's Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

## OFF TO NIGERIA

Taking up a post in Nigeria as Administrative Secretary to the West African Council for Medical Research is Harold Garling, former Secretary of the Hammersmith Pacifist Group. His address from July 1 will be C/o the Council, Yaba, Lagos, Nigeria.



Palais des Nations, Meeting place for the Geneva Conference

## U.S. PROTEST AT VISA DELAY

### Attempt to keep out Wardle and Murumbi

PHILADELPHIA, USA, June 16

TWO of the three overseas authorities it invited to lecture on international relations will not be able to appear because of long delays in handling their visa applications, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) announced here today.

The two are Joseph Murumbi, African leader who has been barred by the British from his native Kenya, and Tom Wardle, English writer and member of Peace News editorial staff, who has done social work in the Union of South Africa.

Criticising the "timidity" of United States officials, James Bristol, director of the Quaker institutes, said:

"We feel Americans should have access to all points of view and that they are competent to weigh them and make up their own minds."

## "One more form"

Both Murumbi and Wardle applied for visas early this winter, Bristol said, with speaking engagements scheduled for the first week in June.

When asked to complete "one more form," as late as June 4, Tom Wardle said:

"This technique amounts to diplomatic refusal. What affects me most about this business is what it does to my faith in American democracy. It seems things are worse than I thought."

Bristol pointed out that this was not the first time such "diplomatic delays" had occurred, although in every case, he said, the government had finally testified to the bona fide nature of the Quaker guests by admitting them.

A French Protestant pastor, George Velten, due in October, 1952, was denied a visa until December, so that his whole speaking schedule had to be revised. Last spring Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the British Peace Pledge Union, invited to lecture by the Quakers, was granted a visa but then refused admission on arriving in New York and detained at Ellis Island for ten days. An appeals board and the

Attorney General ordered his admission after the incident attracted nationwide attention.

Noting that speakers from non-Communist Asia have been admitted without question, but that speakers on Africa failed to win visas, Bristol commented that "the United States seems sensitive to pressure by colonial powers."

"If Kenya, in the person of a moderate like Murumbi, cannot expect a sympathetic hearing from Americans," Bristol declared, "it may look elsewhere—perhaps to Soviet Russia. If persons invited by an organisation with the experience and persistence of the American Friends Service Committee have trouble getting visas, how much more difficult does the unsponsored individual find it to get a hearing?"

Following the Morris incident, the AFSC expressed concern lest Americans "be barred from any expression of opinion save that which has the official approval of fearful guardians of orthodoxy." Later its executive board declared that it would continue to encourage meetings "where controversial issues can be discussed in an atmosphere of good will and different views can be presented—not to create conflict and recrimination but to seek the truth."

## Bourdet successful

In line with this policy, 50 speakers of a wide range of views have been scheduled for 28 conferences throughout the nation this summer. The conferences, which seek to view world affairs in the light of religious and moral values, are open to persons of any faith; customarily participants as well as speakers include a majority of non-Quakers.

The third authority invited by the Quakers, Claude Bourdet, who has been called "the most independent and courageous magazine editor in France," obtained a visa after some delay although he is anti-colonial, a leader of "neutralist" opinion, has been critical of American foreign policy and, although a non-Communist, favours exploring the possibility of political co-operation with the Communists. An African student at the University of Chicago, Kimani Waiyaki, will substitute for Murumbi, moving to Des Moines from June 19 to 26 after an earlier appearance in Texas.



## THE PEOPLE WHO CLEARED AN ARMY OUT OF INDIA

### What they are doing now

IT is unfortunate that in the popular mind Mohandas Gandhi's work was thought to be limited to the liberation of India from British rule, and that, even to pacifists, his main contribution to human progress is assumed to be hardly more than a social technique for achieving what you want to achieve.

In fact the Gandhian idea is very much more than that. Gandhi's real work, it would not be unfair to say, only began with the achievement of independence for his country.

It is not widely known that after independence he advocated the dissolution of the Congress Party and the founding of a new molecular system of village and regional self-government throughout the land. This was repudiated by many of his erstwhile allies and followers and the subsequent entrenchment of political power in the Federal Government is one of the big problems worrying his disciples in India today.

Nevertheless, India still leads the world in revolutionary social ideas through the emergence of Bhodan Yagna (the Land-Gift Mission) and the example of Vinoba Bhave.

#### Man of vision

It is almost without parallel that a man of such vision and integrity as Gandhi should be followed immediately by another of the same stamp. Yet Bhave's right to assume the mantle of his mentor is undoubted.

Vinoba Bhave combines the spiritual consistency and practical concern of the true Gandhian with a penetrating intellectual insight into the modern ideological problem.

He is endeavouring to build up not merely a movement for land distribution, but a new concept of politics and society. His answer to the dilemma of capitalism or communism is neither the one nor the other nor yet a middle way between them, but a new idea, Samya-yoga, which "seeks to reform and rebuild the entire life of society on a spiritual foundation with revolutionary results in every field, ethical, social, economic and political."

This is the programme and the task of the movement for which Gandhi had prepared, the Sarvodaya Samaj (Brotherhood of General Welfare), which will campaign for the introduction of basic reforms in all departments of Indian life.

#### Test of sincerity

The dynamic behind this movement is, if anything, more profoundly understood and deeply moving than during the rule of the British Raj, for it is only in these days of freedom that the true sincerity of the Satyagrahi is put to the test. The temptations to go the power way of the West are enormous in modern India. It requires great sense of conviction and purpose to remain true to the vision of the Mahatma.

Several Gandhian newspapers in India have had to close down in recent years because of lack of finance. But Harijan, the English-language weekly founded by Gandhi still continues. There is also a monthly magazine, in English, inaugurated to serve the Sarvodaya Samaj and titled simply, Sarvodaya (The welfare of all). It is issued on the first of every month from Devji Colony in Tiripur and costs six shillings or one dollar a year. In its average of fourteen pages it contains news of the Bhodan movement, articles by leading Gandhian thinkers, including Britain's Wilfred Wellock, and notes of general constructive developments in India and abroad.

Constructive workers everywhere would find it cheering and helpful to have this news of the progress being made in India's "silent revolution."

#### HAS WAGED NO WAR

"Buddhism is the only religion that has waged no religious wars or crusades" said U Maung Maung Ji, Press attache of the Burmese Embassy in a TV programme recently. Buddhism, he held, would help the West to get away from conventional beliefs and seek the deeper causes of the world tension. U Maung Maung Ji, a member of the All-India Congress Committee and worker with Gandhi from the early days of the Asian struggle for freedom, was one of the speakers at the Albert Hall H-bomb meeting.

No Socialist is complete  
without

TRIBUNE

Place a regular order with  
your newsagent or send 2s 6d  
for the next nine issues to:

TRIBUNE PUBLICATIONS LTD.  
222 Strand, London W.C.2

# PROPAGANDA

## How the War Office does it

By TOM WARDLE

IF you told people that there was an organised plan to play on the affections and sentiments of the public in order to boost the Army, they would say you were exaggerating.

If you said that the War Office had a special body of men located all over the world, specially trained and advised in the art of turning out stories and photographs designed to exploit local interest and human feeling for the purposes of fostering military recruitment, they would say you were mad.

But it's true!

From the War Office Public Relations Department has been issued (for use of Military Observers only) a booklet euphemistically known as "The Observer's Guide." It is a manual of instruction in the pulling of wool over eyes.

This is what it says. The following passages are taken exactly as they appear in this extraordinary document:

#### (a) The importance of Provincial papers

Nearly every family in the United Kingdom takes at least two papers—a National daily paper and a local Provincial paper.

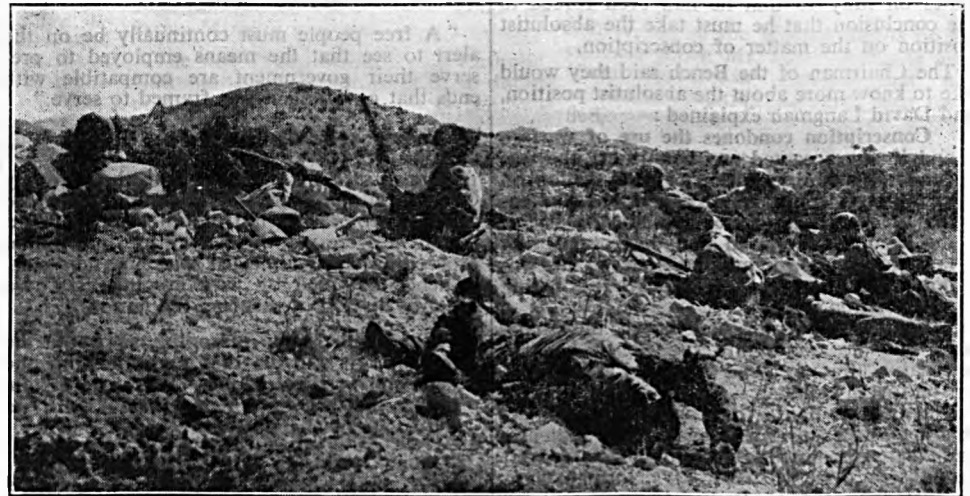
The National paper is skimmed through in the morning for world news, but the local paper is generally kept for the evening, when the readers are relaxed and, therefore, more receptive. This local paper is read and re-read from the first page to the last, and its contents are discussed with every member of the family and the neighbours. It contains news in its most human and appealing form, news about a friend or neighbour. It is news which is believed and is not thought of as propaganda.

#### (b) Morale

If the local paper carries stories about men who are enjoying their time in the Army, these stories are certain to build up sympathetic interest in the Army and recruiting. They will be an effective means of improving the morale, both of the troops themselves and of their families at home.

#### (c) Army Local Boy stories

These "local boy" stories are the main channel for presenting the way of life of the



#### NO GOOD FOR A STORY

This soldier lying dead on a hill in Korea would hardly be a good subject for an "Observer story." He was carrying out an "exciting military task" at the time it happened. But he will not be able to answer any of the War Office's questions about his hobbies, nor will his picture, this picture, appear in the local papers.

British soldier everywhere to the people at home. The story of the local boy who is serving in the Army is News to be talked about. That is why a story, illustrated with a photograph, and telling of the happy and adventurous time the local boy is having in the Army, is the best form of publicity for the Army.

A continual flow of stories presenting the Army in a favourable light builds up a

nation-wide goodwill for the Army. People who are continually reading favourable news stories about men they know will discount the occasional "grouse" story in the "live letter box" of a National paper about men they do not know. This is active publicity in its best form—putting a good picture of the Army right into people's heads. This is so much stronger and more effective than the passive and defensive policy of waiting till someone writes something hostile about the Army and then attempting to give explanations, which must often appear unconvincing.

#### (d) The demand for stories

"Local boy" stories please everyone. The soldier likes to see his name in print, and his family and friends want to read about him. The Editor of the provincial paper wants to print them, because they interest his readers.

There are over 1,400 provincial papers in the United Kingdom, and they are eager to print as many stories as they can get. One story will often appear in several different papers.

There are 3,600 magazines, Periodicals, Trade Papers and House Organs in the British Isles, which will also print stories.

#### (e) The intention

The intention of an Observer should be to get as many Army stories as possible published in the provincial press and elsewhere. These stories are widely read, so the Observer has a large circle of potential readers. The stories should, if possible, contain some good publicity for the Army, but this must be handled unobtrusively.

Next in the guidebook comes a section describing the types of publication suitable for use as mediums for Army stories. There is an example of the type of thing wanted—a story, complete with picture of soldier handling a rifle and entitled "He found he liked Army life best." It tells the inspiring story of a man who joined the Regular Army after seven weeks as a conscript soldier.

The sections on producing and writing the story are revealing. One tip is to initiate competitions in local army-welfare journals, etc. With prizes for the best letters in such subjects as "Why I like the Army." Such letters may provide the basis for a story to be used in other papers.

Adventurous items are good material for stories says the manual, but warns "not too many war reminiscences. Concentrate rather on rock climbing, 'safari' in the bush, the exciting military task."

The stories must be kept as "human as possible" and "stories about special passages for relatives to see injured soldiers are always popular."

To get stories, the Public Relations department of the War Office often arranges for a soldier to be photographed. He is then sent a form telling him of this and asking details about himself, his career and the name of his local newspaper.

On the basis of this information a story is prepared and sent to the newspaper together with the photograph. So another piece of Army propaganda is put across.

"A good Observer Officer," exhorts the booklet, "will be able to write at least 20 local boy stories each week and still have time to spend at least half an hour on each interview, as well as two hours writing and re-writing each story."

This careful, almost desperate, attempt to promote enthusiasm for the Army reflects the fact that recruitment for the Regular Army is today lower than it has been this century.

## FORGOTTEN BATTLEFIELD

Ethiopia and Eritrea, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst and Richard K. P. Pankhurst. Lalibela House, 18s.

IT is an oddity of history and of human nature that we may be moved to great acts of sympathy for peoples far away in times of drama or crisis and that our feelings cool and our minds turn to forgetfulness when the newspapers grow tired of the subject.

The rape of Abyssinia by Italian troops (when was it now?) in 1934, stirred the whole democratic world. Then came Spain, then Czechoslovakia, then Poland, and the story became too commonplace for sympathy.

Sylvia Pankhurst never forgot. From the time of her visit to Italy in 1920 she was vocal in her opposition to Fascism. When Italy invaded Ethiopia (Abyssinia), she was ready to warn and to plead.

#### Occupation to independence

Since then, for nearly twenty years, she has followed the fortunes of the Ethiopian and Eritrean people through occupation, liberation and re-occupation and finally to independence and the federation of the two countries. Her book tells in 300-odd fact-crammed pages the story of that period as she knew it.

Miss Pankhurst was an ardent supporter of the Unionist movement which campaigned for the reunification of Eritrea, freed after over half-a-century of Italian rule, with independent Ethiopia. This was accomplished by the United Nations Organisation after a commission of enquiry had examined the problem, and ultimately consummated by the triumphal visit of Emperor Haile Selassie to Eritrea in October 1952.

This work must certainly be unique, for it provides a wealth of minute detail on the history of the development which only one with a deep love of the peoples on "the Horn of Africa" would take the trouble to amass.

Although the main burden of the book is intended to supply historical and moral justification for the act of federation, one may reserve the right not to agree with this conclusion while yet appreciating the devotion from which it derives. For one who prefers development in the direction of less government rather than more it seems regrettable that federation should have been deemed necessary to the progress of these two countries.

#### Deals by the military

I found the most absorbing that part of the book which dealt with the history of the British administration of the area after the defeat of the Italians in 1941. There are some interesting revelations of dealings between the allied military administration and the local Fascists who were kept on to help govern the country.

What happens when white democrat and white Fascist meet in the country of the black man is one of the hitherto untold stories of the war.

T. W.

## The cold war: what Christians can do

Christians and the East-West Conflict, by W. Grigor McClelland. Published by the Friends' Peace Committee, Price 9d.

THIS is a highly suggestive and stimulating brochure of some 26 pages, the last six of which contain an excerpt from the Report of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches, and also the Report of groups at the Friends World Conference at Oxford in 1952. Indeed a good deal of the brochure was written as an exposition of the Friends Oxford Conference report, and the whole is now offered to a wider Christian public as a presentation of a Christian approach to the problem of the East-West conflict.

The argument proceeds in an orderly fashion from an analysis of the situation to a consideration of the possibilities of a peaceful settlement, the challenge of Communism and the Christian response, the proper role of the Christian in the West, together with questions for discussion and guidance for further reading. The usefulness of this pamphlet for Christian groups who are seeking light on this supreme problem of the human race in our generation cannot be gainsaid.

The helpfulness of the author is best seen, perhaps, where he talks in practical terms of what the Western Christian can and should do about it all. Here he lays down definite suggestions for individual action.

#### Simple duty

"We must start where we are, and we must do as well as we can," and three main directions along which our efforts should lie are outlined. We must work and pray to reform and revitalise Western society, we must know our "Communism," meet its challenge in our minds and hearts, and maintain personal contacts with Communists, and, thirdly, we should remember that at any time God's power may break into and transform any given situation.

In such a faith Christians should approach every issue of the vast problem and not fail to express their convictions to their fellow-countrymen.

There is no passionate plea for unilateral disarmament here, no purple patches about the iniquity of atomic or hydrogen bombs; they are not mentioned. Rather is the brochure an endeavour to discover how sincere simple Christian folk can discharge their duty in life in face of a situation which threatens to destroy the soul of the nation.

"As even the cold war becomes in a sense total, reasons of strategy are used to justify breaches of international agreement, reasons of security are used to justify invasions of personal freedom, reasons of propaganda are used to justify distortions of truth. It is in this extension of the war mentality to every realm of human activity that our civilisation, by seeking to save its life, will most surely lose it."

Can anyone, with truth, deny that!

G. E. HICKMAN JOHNSON.



# Talking of books...

By Robert Greacen

Close Contact, by Brig. C. H. Dewhurst, OBE. Allen and Unwin, 12s. 6d.  
Love and Violence: Various Contributors. Sheed and Ward, 18s.  
The Ampersand, by Jack Common. Turnstile Press, 10s. 6d.  
The People of the Sea, by David Thomson. Turnstile Press, 12s. 6d.  
Sayonara, by James A. Michener. Secker and Warburg, 10s. 6d.

BRIG. DEWHURST, late Chief of the British Mission to the Soviet Forces of Occupation in Germany and previously Military Attaché in Yugoslavia, might be described as an Army intellectual. He has long been a student of Russia and Communism, and knows the Russian language.

His book, CLOSE CONTACT, chatty and full of interesting little details, is hardly an authoritative work. On the other hand he has had considerable day-to-day experience of working with his Russian opposite numbers, and knows exactly how their minds work and how they behave in given situations.

Above all, he genuinely likes Russians and is willing to see their point of view, however wrong or absurd it may seem to him.

Here is Brig. Dewhurst on the arms race: "We can never, in peacetime, compete with Russia in pure volume of military construction. Indeed, one sure way of ensuring the bankruptcy of the West would be to start a first-class arms race."

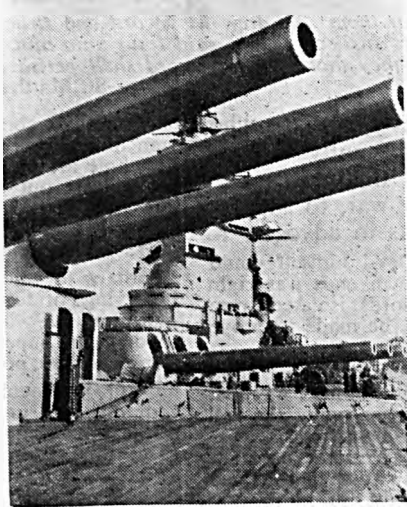
Whether such an arms race is already in progress is anybody's guess.

LOVE AND VIOLENCE is an intellectual Roman Catholic symposium based on the 1946 volume of the series, ETUDES CARMELITAINES.

## Chink in the armour

Art, literature and theology are explored in an attempt to analyse every aspect of this inter-related subject. It is all very intimidating, yet there are curious chinks in the intellectual armour. Gustave Thibon, for instance, first maintains quite rightly:

"The only thing that gets rid of evil is pure goodness, the supernatural love that loves its enemies, turns the other cheek and dies upon the Cross. But later he declares that the salvation of society as a whole is not always achieved by the same means as that of the individual,



Sureway to bankruptcy

and declares:

"The kind of pacifism for instance, that leads to conscientious objection, arises from an individualistic attitude which must be condemned: the conscientious objector is a 'transcendent' egoist who is prepared to sacrifice to his ideal of personal perfection the most sacred interests—and even the very existence—of the community of which he is part."

Pravda, please copy. M. Thibon obviously wants it both ways. It is rather interesting to note how frequently Moscow and Rome speak with almost identical voices, no doubt because they both demand the surrender of the individual conscience.

The Roman Catholic magazine, BLACK-FRIARS, which represents progressive Catholic opinion in this country, takes a very different attitude. In fairness, however, LOVE AND VIOLENCE is not a particularly bad (or good) example of Orwellian "double-think."

Jack Common's THE AMPERSAND—the ampersand is the printer's sign "&"—is a most delightful and original novel. Mr. Common's setting is working-class Newcastle (the "Geordie" country) during the First World War and just after it. A born writer, he has vigour, narrative ability and an observant eye for the quirks of personality. Thoroughly recommended.

IN THE PEOPLE OF THE SEA David Thomson, a BBC producer, has written a travel book dealing with his research in Scotland and Ireland on legends connected with seals and "seal men." He also examines oral literature and traditional music which have a bearing on this theme.

SAYONARA tells the story of two US air-men, one an officer, the other a private, who, sent to Japan with the Occupation forces, fall in love with Japanese girls. A bit sentimental, perhaps, and not very distinguished as writing, but at least Mr. Michener has the virtue of not regarding the Japanese as an inferior people.

# FLASHBACK

In the first session of the Disarmament Conference (in February, 1932) after an appeal by Mr. Henderson from the chair for bold measures of disarmament, Count Grandi, on behalf of Italy, made a number of excellent proposals including the proposal for the complete abolition of all bombing aeroplanes.

This proposal was supported by a large number of other States, and, if it had been supported by the British Government, would have had a very good chance of general acceptance.

Sir John Simon and Lord Londonderry, however, put difficulties in the way. Sir John Simon proposing that all these matters should be referred to a committee of so-called "experts," and Lord Londonderry afterwards boasting in the House of Lords that "I had the utmost difficulty in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane."

—Quoted from a letter written by Mr. Hugh Dalton in June, 1939, and published in Peace News, June 23, 1944.

# Letters to the Editor

## Sentence of death

ON June 8, General Gruenther was entertained by the English Speaking Union at the Dorchester Hotel in London. The Duke of Edinburgh was the Chairman; and the General was supported and followed by our Prime Minister and by the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition.

The Commander in Chief took this opportunity of extreme and august publicity (the occasion was also broadcast by the BBC) in order to announce that in the case of war we shall use the thermo-nuclear weapons deep in Russia. He also informed us of the immense and unstoppable qualities of the new B47 bombers, one of which recently crossed the Atlantic in under five hours, and which will be used in case of need to deliver the bombs. He glanced briefly at the fact that the Russians used the occasion of their May Day demonstration in Moscow to show that they have similar heavy bombers.

Air Chief Marshal Sir Philip Joubert, writing in the Listener of June 3 (he had previously broadcast the same material), told us that our island "presents the perfect objective for a mass-destruction assault. By comparison Russia and America are much more happily situated."

There can be few British listeners who did not realise that in effect General Gruenther's solemnly truculent address constituted an official notice to the Russians that, in case of bad international trouble, if they wish to continue to exist, they had better strike first, whatever the risk. Survival will depend on being the first "to press the button."

In view of Air Chief Marshal Joubert's admission, they will clearly strike first at Britain, especially as we are the aircraft-carrier for the American bombers. Under the circumstances the Commander in Chief's address was a sentence of death—endorsed by the other high authorities surrounding him—to the great city, and the island, in which it was delivered, in case of war.

We now all know where we are going in preparing for war. We know also on this same authority, that there is only one way of safety, not to have war. Under such circumstances do we realise sufficiently the necessity for making the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations get to work effectively?

Euston, N.W.1.

## Fraternising in the Forces

LAURENCE HOUSMAN's mention of peace-making (i.e. fraternising) among soldiers of opposite armies I can back from my experience in World War I when I was a nurse in France, in Hospital 105 at Lille at the time the Germans took that town.

After occupation the hospital came under German control, though for a while several of the French staff carried on while the hospital housed wounded from both sides. Being a pacifist I made no condition as to whom I nursed, and therefore was transferred from a French ward to a German ward—for the Germans were at first short of nurses.

Having nursed both sides, I testify that I felt less hatred between men who had but recently fought each other than in the civilian population outside the hospital. Thus it did not surprise me to discover French and German convalescent men exchanging cigarettes in utter friendliness as they met from the opposite ends of a long gallery where they took exercise. Hardly a word could they say to each other, except through an interpreter. Not the least were those precious cigarettes.

FRANCOISE DELISLE.

## "Bob a job" week

FOLLOWING the symposium which appeared on the front page of your issue

for April 2, and after receipt of Harry Mister's circular of April 6, I obtained from your office 300 copies of the Sybil Morrison pamphlet, "Security through Disarmament" and these were all distributed.

The week ending April 24, was the Scouts "Bob a Job" week, and you may like to know that I handed about 150 copies of the Peace News H-bomb folder to two scouts stationed in Piccadilly Circus on Tuesday, April 20, with a bob for each boy, and I believe they got rid of the folders very quickly.

They told me that they had seen the Piccadilly H-bomb poster paraders. I could not help thinking what a great opportunity had been lost. If only all the scouts could have had big supplies of the folder and other Peace News literature each day of the "Bob a job" week!

31 Powis Gardens, N.W.11.

DEREK INKPEN.

## "Wages of Fear"

I SHOULD be grateful if friends of mine in the peace movement, and other pacifists and humane people, who have seen the film "Wages of Fear" now running at the Academy Cinema, Oxford Street, London, and who feel as I do that the effect of this film is likely to be harmful to children and sensitive people, would write to me. I wish to protest against this film in every quarter where it may be useful to do so.

GWYNETH ANDERSON.

170 Adelaide Rd., N.W.3.

## "The Dam Busters"

I THINK we should protest about film magnates, actors, and authors making money out of the tragedy of the Mohne Dam.

The author of the book "The Dam Busters" and the film people ought to give their profits to refugee societies or to UNA for the benefit of people wandering the world with no homes, possessions, or hope.

(Mrs.) IRENE PARSONS.

23 Woodside Rd., Worthing, Sussex.

## U.S. Foreign Policy

ON July 25, 1952, you published a letter of mine protesting at current American foreign policy, and imploring you to keep up your courageous work for the peace of the world vis a vis the U.S. The many replies I received were beyond measure touching and heartening to one who has treasured pacifism since 1914.

Though the skies are yet darker, and I, if possible, still more concerned that the country I love should turn from the madness of war, you may like again to be assured of the love and gratitude of countless Americans like myself, who turn for comfort to your own high wisdom and courage.

TRACY D. MYGATT.

## Atom bombs—new variety

WHEN shopping the other day I saw a box of children's sweets advertised as "Atom Bombs." The shopkeeper, after a little persuasion agreed not to stock any of the sweets in future.

J. LE NOURY.

4 The Grove, Poolsbrook, Chesterfield, Derby.

## SOUTH LONDON PEACE RALLY

Battersea Town Hall

Wednesday, June 30th 7.30 p.m.

BAN THE H-BOMB

Mr. D. N. Pitt Q.C. Councillor (I. C. Pickford (Battersea B.C.))  
Mrs. P. Seares (Ex-Servicemen's Peace) Dr. M. J. Seaton (Univ. Lecturer in Physics) Adm 6d.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

## Saturday, June 26

BELFAST: 12 noon: Blizted site, High St. Trades council demonstration against the H-bomb. Speaker for PPU and For, William Boyd.  
HIGH WYCOMBE: 2.30-6 p.m.: Highbenden Manor Gdns. Garden Party. Speaker: John Ferguson. Admission Free. For.  
LEWES: 3.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk. Prof. A. N. Tucker, "Some Racial Problems in Africa." Tea, Discussion. Bring and Buy Stall. PPU.  
PORTSMOUTH: 7 p.m.: Speakers' Corner. Southsea Promenade. Open-air Mtg. Local Speakers. PPU, For.

## Sunday, June 27

CLAPHAM: 3 p.m.: Speakers' Ground, Clapham Common. Open-air Mtg. Rev. Dr. Albert Belden. Battersea and Wandsworth PPU.  
GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.  
HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.  
RICHMOND: 3 p.m.: Volunteers required for poster parade. Assemble Richmond Railway Stn., 3 p.m. PPU.

## Tuesday, June 29

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Bliz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

## Wednesday, June 30

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For, PPU.

## Thursday, July 1

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Dr. J. Boss, "The Hydrogen Bomb." PPU.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.  
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.  
PRESTON: 7.30 p.m.: Cong. Ch., Lancaster Rd. Public Mtg. John Ferguson, MA, BD, "The Christian and the Problem of War." For.

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, Time, Place (Hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

## Saturday, July 3

HASTINGS: 3.15 p.m.: 5 Ambhurst Gdns. Garden Mtg. (if wet indoors). Michael Tippett. Chair: Minnie Pallister. Picnic tea in Orchard. Bring and buy stall. PPU.  
HULL: 3 p.m.: 6 Bond St. Quarterly Mtg. Yorkshire Area PPU.  
LOUGHTON: 3 p.m.: Family Ramble, Epping Forest. Meet "Crown," Loughton. N.E. Council For.  
SHEFFIELD: 3.30 p.m.: "Rydal," Snaithing Pk. Rd. Area Mtg. Rev. Donald Pipe, of Nottingham. For.  
WOOLWICH: Objective—Peace Demonstration. 2 p.m.: Poster Parade from Plumstead Central Hall. 3 p.m.: Open-air mtg. near Woolwich Arsenal. 5 p.m.: Peace Exhibition and Buffet. Central Hall Followed by Any Questions session. Non-violent Resistance Group, Eltham PPU and PYAG.

## Sunday, July 4

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.  
HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

## Saturday, July 10

BIRMINGHAM: 3-9 p.m.: Fircroft College, Oak Tree Lane, Bourneville. Annual Garden Party. Mrs. Grace Knott. Bring and Buy Stall. Eric Smith's concert party. PPU.

## Postal Subscription Rates

Great Britain and Abroad (Sea Mail): Twelve wks. 5s.; 24 wks. 10s.; One yr. 21s.  
TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION FOR NEW READERS:  
Home or Abroad: 2s. 6d. for nine weeks

## Peace News in Canada and the USA

AIR EXPRESS EDITION  
to US and all parts of America, from Peace News US Sales Office, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. (mailed on publication day)  
\$4 year. \$2 six months.  
New readers: 3 months trial, \$1.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

## MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

MIRZA AHMAD SOHRAB, Director of The Caravan of East and West, will be in England, July 8 to 13, for fifth birthday of Caravan of England. S.a.e., details, "Caravan," 14 Lamb Close, Edmonton, N.9.

THE H-BOMB AND EDUCATION. A Public Meeting addressed by Mr. George Thomas, MP, and Miss Joan Ingram (educationalist). Chair: Mr. Anthony Greenwood, MP. Tuesday, June 29, 7.15 p.m., at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1. H-bomb National Committee, 141 Victoria St., S.W.1.

## ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. Canonbury 1340, Telkeas Shaylor, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

AGM DELEGATE recommends Shaylor for board or bed and breakfast.

## PERSONAL

ANIMAL LOVERS. Homes urgently required for unwanted dogs. Smith, Quarry Ho., Heads Nook, Carlisle.

DO YOU VOTE LABOUR? The Labour Peace Fellowship needs your support. Details from membership secretary: 27 Rowland Ave., Kenon, Middx.

ELIJAH COMING before Christ. World's only hope for peace. Wonderful book free. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 7, Rochester, NY.

FOR CHRISTIANITY, the Boston organisation offers but "a poor shift for the weak and worldly." For free, friendly talk ring Cundy, WEL 6036.

INFORMATION wanted (for book) about recent conditions in military, naval and RAF prisons and detention barracks. Box No. 568.

REGINALD BAILEY, Naturopath and psychiatrist. 134 Hoppers Rd., N.21. Palmers Green 9568. By appt.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

## EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit). 58, Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

## LITERATURE

FOR YOUR SUPPLY Don't forget that Housmans can meet all your literature requirements and quantities of Peace News. Send a postcard to Housmans Bookshop (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.  
"KENYA," a revealing history by Dr. Richard Pankhurst: facts obscured by Press and Parliament. 7s. 6d. (by post 8s.), from New Times Bookshop, 3 Charteris Rd., Woodford Gr., Essex.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1, and 318 Regent Park Rd., Finchley, London, N.3.

## SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

FIRST-CLASS duplicating/typing. Mabel Eyles Secretarial Service, 395 Hornsey Rd., N.19. ARC 1765, Ext. 1.

PACIFIST, Socialist, 29, Montgomeryshire. Life experience farm (prefer organic). Unsuitable strenuous jobs owing rheumatic fever. Consider anything, anywhere. Shortband. Studying Book-keeping. Box No. 567.

REPAIRS. Alterations, Conversions and Building work of all kinds efficiently carried out by Parsons & Co., 323a Kennington Rd., S.E.11. REL 1421 for immediate attention.

VEGETARIAN STUDENT (male) wants interesting job for July and Sept. Box No. 565.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a man aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employment, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952. CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT required as Personal Assistant to Managing Director. Good prospects. Com. salary £720 p.a. Write E. W. Bales, St.P.B.S., 20 Bride Lane, E.C.4.

## FOR SALE AND WANTED

ARTHUR PONSONBY'S "Falsehood in Wartime," "The Cranks," "Rebels and Reformers," and other pacifist "classics"; secondhand copies urgently needed for American pacifists and others, payment if desired. Housmans Bookshop, London, N.4.

FOR GROUP would appreciate copies of Niebuhr's "Why the Christian Church is not Pacifist," now out of print. Please send to Glyn Jones, 4 Richmond Rd., Sedgley, Dudley. GENT'S WRIST WATCH, 100 per cent. automatic. Recently overhauled by makers. Guaranteed six months. Nearest £15. 5 per cent. to funds. Box No. 569.

## HOLIDAYS

A MOST BENEFICIAL HOLIDAY with attractive and appetising vegetarian meals. Home-made wholesome bread. Pure mountain air. Send for brochure to Brook Linn Vegetarian Guest House, Callander, Perthshire. Also Annex accommodation for families—special terms. Telephone Callander 103.

BRENDON HILLS, Somerset. Ideal country holiday. Fred and Alice House, Huish Champflower, Wiveliscombe.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. "The Briars," Crich, Matlock. Vegetarian Guest House. Happy country holidays in a friendly atmosphere. Modern comforts. Ronald and Marguerite Heymans. Tel: Ambergate 44.

GALLOWAY. Caravan. Fully equipped, sleep two. Secluded, private site. Electric light. £2 10s. weekly (August fully booked). Box No. 566.

HOLIDAY FRIENDSHIP Service programme includes Bulgaria, Austria, Israel, Portugal, France, Spain. Send s.a.e. 5 Goodwin's Ct., London, W.C.2.

JUNE, early July and September, best periods, vacancies available Dimbola, Freshwater Bay, IOW, overlooking Bay. Write Brochure, Phone 421.

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS



# GERMAN REARMAMENT

□ From page one

The conflict in Korea is assumed to be due to unprovoked Communist aggression, and while it likens the situation in Germany to that in Korea, the pamphlet fails to recognise that it is EDC which creates a frontier as unreal and dangerous as Korea's 38th Parallel right in the heart of Europe.

Little evidence is offered to support the contention that Germany will rearm in any case.

Why should Germany be trusted to abide by the EDC treaty if she cannot be trusted to carry out the obligations of the Potsdam Agreement? The pamphlet begs this question.

Is there not a greater danger that she would find opportunities for complete rearmament once the nationalistic and military elements have been given another chance than while the country remains completely disarmed?

It may be true that it is unrealistic to expect Germany to remain disarmed while other nations are increasing their armaments.

That was why the Versailles Treaty was coupled with a promise to Germany that her disarmament would be followed by the disarmament of the Allies.

The second world war was made possible by the refusal of the Allies to keep their promise, by the assistance given to Hitler's rearmament and by the failure to keep Germany within the League of Nations and its safeguards, when that was the shape of the collective security system.

If the Labour Party would only learn the lessons of history they would not be so anxious to justify a repetition of the tragic mistakes of the past, but would be insisting that the disarmament of Germany should be part of a general system of world disarmament.

But the pamphlet is again at fault in stating that it is Soviet intransigence which still blocks the way to any effective system of inspection and control, for it disregards the fact that the Soviet Union has agreed in principle to both.

## In East Germany

It argues that Western Germany must be armed because Eastern Germany is. The fact that the more recent rearmament of East Germany followed the acceptance by Adenauer of plans for rearming Western Germany is ignored, as also is the express declaration of the East German Government that they would cease rearmament in their zone if the Bonn Government would do the same.

The Labour Party will hardly convince the Communists that it is wrong to rearm Eastern Germany by demanding the rearmament of Western Germany.

The assumption that Germany will rearm in any case presumes a desire on the part of the German people to be rearmed, and reference is made to the return of the Adenauer Government with a clear majority at the most recent elections in Western Germany.

But the election was not fought entirely on the issue of the Bonn Agreement, there was no clear alternative policy put to the electorate, and backing financial and other influences fully available to Adenauer weighted the elections in his favour.

Another piece of special pleading is the suggestion that the Western powers offered the Germans complete freedom of choice at the Four-power Berlin Conference, which met early in 1954 to consider the unification of Germany. True, the West moved from their original position which would have made binding on any all-German Government the commitments into which the Bonn Government had entered with the West, but they knew that the risks they were taking were very small in all the circumstances.

## Meetings were banned

Western Germany has been occupied by the British and Americans for several years and Adenauer has been a willing tool in their hands, so that their policy has been consistently put across with the help of bribes and threats.

On the other hand, as I know from personal experience, meetings to protest at German rearmament have been banned and many attempts made to prevent the expression of free opinion on this vital issue.

Nevertheless, the result of Gallop polls and other expressions of German opinion make it quite clear to everybody, except apparently the writer of the pamphlet, that a very large percentage of those living in Western Germany

would prefer that Germany should not be rearmed.

It is surely better to do everything possible to encourage that feeling rather than set it at naught and encourage those who do desire German rearmament to control the destinies of Germany.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union could be quite certain that free elections would mean the loss of control of the Eastern zone.

## Answer to the problem

When I was in Berlin I had the opportunity of talking to members of the East German Government.

They agreed that few Communist deputies would be returned in any all-German election, but they were prepared for that for the sake of German unity, provided that the reunification of Germany did not mean that the Western powers would push their defence line up to the Oder-Neisse.

The answer to the problem lies along the line of a Germany which is united, neutral and disarmed. But the pamphlet dismisses the possibility of a neutralised Germany by an unfair comparison with Sweden and Switzerland and by the suggestion that neutrality must mean keeping Germany in a position of inferiority in Europe, and continued occupation because someone will have to defend her. The neutrality of Germany could be guaranteed by all the powers concerned pending general disarmament, but the argument is based on the false assumption that security depends upon armaments.

In the economic arguments, given in the paragraph, "Status Quo," reference is made to the advantage which Germany has in the increasing competition for world markets so long as her industry is not burdened with taxation for war purposes.

The suggestion that Germany should make a contribution to a scheme of aid for underdeveloped countries equivalent to her suggested payment for EDC is too cursorily dismissed as likely to put Germany in an even stronger position in world trade, and as doing nothing to meet the chief need of Western defence.

If all other nations would, as they should, also transfer their expenditure on armaments to an international authority designed to promote adequate world development the first part of the argument falls to the ground.

## Vested interests

But the whole argument of the pamphlet really comes to this:

That the Western plan requires the assistance of a German army not for the sake of the German people (who would if war came be the first object of attack) but for the defence of British and American interests.

To endeavour to secure this the official leaders of the Labour Party, bedevilled by a fear of Communist military aggression and German competition in world markets, are prepared to postpone indefinitely the unification of Germany, to acquiesce in the rearmament of Eastern as well as Western Germany and to create in Europe a false frontier across which the two sides in the cold war must continue to regard each other with increasing suspicion and tension.

The pamphlet rightly repudiates the suggestion that it is the function of the Parliamentary opposition merely to oppose and not to have a responsible policy of its own.

But the Labour Party has no policy of its own.

It would require stronger evidence than the pamphlet provides to support a contention that the right policy from the Conservative point of view should also be acceptable to a Labour Government with their fundamentally different principles.

The tragedy is that the Labour Party has no alternative to offer to EDC.

Now that the Defence Committee of the French Parliament has followed the example of the Foreign Affairs Committee in rejecting EDC, the ratification of the Treaty by France seems extremely unlikely. In that event, what will the Labour Party propose? The pamphlet shows that they are politically bankrupt on this vital matter.

Socialism is inseparable from democracy as the pamphlet claims and consequently socialists cannot accept the indefinite subjection of people to alien domination, whether by military occupation or by other means.

## Denial of democracy

Obviously the occupation of Germany must end, but the policy which the pamphlet advocates is designed to subject Germany to British and American interests, and to risk the domination of Germany by militarists.

It involves the conscription of German youth, in itself a denial of democracy. The original intention of the Potsdam agreement:

"Not to destroy or enslave the German people but to give them opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their lives on a democratic and peaceful basis, and to enable them to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world,"

can only be implemented by accepting the principle that Germany must be united, neutralised and unarmed, and thus make her contribution to a world of peace and prosperity.

It involves the acceptance of those pacifist principles from which unfortunately both the official leaders of the Labour Party and those who are opposing German rearmament within it for the wrong reasons, have alike departed.

## AS A LEAFLET

This article has been reprinted as a folder for distribution at Labour Party and Trade Union meetings. Price 2s. 6d., 100; 22s. 6d., 1,000. Post free from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

# 'All they that take the sword'

And he said unto them, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them, But now he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one. And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.

—St. Luke XXI, verses 35, 36, 38.

And behold one of them . . . drew his sword and struck a servant of the high priest's, and smote off his ear. Then said Jesus unto him, Put up thy sword again into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.

—St. Matthew XXVI, verses 51, 52.

IT is a notable fact that Christians who are not pacifists constantly display great anxiety to prove that Jesus was quite prepared to justify war, to support it, and even on occasions to advocate it.

Whoever said that the Devil himself could use the Scriptures for his own ends was right in so far as the use of words isolated from their context can, of course, be made to prove anything.

It is disillusioning to find so many good Christians ready to use this dubious method, and who cannot, in fact, either quote the full passage, or say where it is to be found!

This is particularly obvious in the constant use of the words: "when a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace," which strikingly ends, "but when a stronger

than he shall come upon him . . . he taketh from him all his armour in which he trusted," the whole argument being that Beelzebub cannot be cast out by the means of Satan, but only by the means of God. It is the finest argument in the world against the use of evil means for the purpose of overcoming evil.

Perhaps for the pacifist the most difficult of the sayings of Jesus is my quotation this week, for unless the whole story is read and understood it can, superficially, be interpreted as an exhortation to prepare for war.

I am no theologian, and can only argue from my own understanding and imagination of the background and the events which led up to this statement.

★

St. Luke is the only narrator who mentions it. The last supper was over; the betrayal had been foretold; an argument developed among the disciples as to who should be accounted the greatest among them, ended in Peter's passionate declaration that he would be faithful even to death, and his Master's sorrowful prophecy to the contrary.

The sense of parting is strongly conveyed, and the feeling also that Jesus is sad and disappointed in His friends; already it seemed they were on their way to the tragedy of Gethsemane, where they could not even stay awake to pray with Him in His last hours.

The question as to whether they lacked anything when they went without money, papers, or even shoes, and the subsequent suggestion that now, without Him, they may prefer to carry what other men carry, has in it a tone of weariness and disillusionment. And there is an unmistakable ring of irony in the words, "it is enough," in answer to the statement that they already possess two swords.

For how could two swords, if they were to be used in any kind of defence, be "enough" to stand against the might of Rome and the power of the Sanhedrin?

Moreover, it must be remembered that it was only a few hours later when one of those very swords was used to strike off the ear of a man among those who had come with Judas to effect the arrest, and Jesus, stretching out his hand in healing for the last time on earth, strongly rebuked the disciple who had caused the wound.

★

The words of that great prophecy: "all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword," cannot be reconciled with the interpretation placed by some upon the story of the "two swords," and cannot be twisted to mean anything but what they most clearly and categorically state.

To relate these stupendous happenings of 2,000 years ago to modern times is not easy, but the life of Jesus as a preacher and a healer is one that utterly denies the possibility that He would justify war as a means towards an end.

He could have invoked "twelve legion of angels" in His own defence, but refused to do so, because it denied his teaching, and it was not the way.

The way of Christianity is not easy, and so far as war is concerned it has not yet been tried.



## H-BOMB CAMPAIGN

Broadcast these rousing fact-facers NOW!

## CIVIL DEFENCE AND THE BOMB

4-page broadsheet from last Friday's Peace News. 2s. 6d., 50; 5s., 100; 45s., 1,000. Post free.

## THE HYDROGEN BOMB

Facts we must face—

from Einstein, Nehru, Soper, Crossman, Mrs. Pandit, the Press, etc., etc.. 2s. 6d., 100; 22s. 6d., 1,000. Post free.

★

SELL PEACE NEWS EVERY WEEK IN YOUR TOWN CENTRE AND AT LOCAL MEETINGS.

Quantities on sale or return, 3s dozen (postage 3d).

POSTERS PROVIDED FREE

★

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN NOW

Peace News Ltd.  
3 Blackstock Road, London N.4.



Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd., The Goodwin Press (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4.

## Self-Government for Wales

Send for  
"Welsh Nation," 4½d. a month;  
4s. 6d. a year.  
"Plaid Cymru and its Message,"  
8d.  
"Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism," 7s. 6d.; postage 6d.  
"What is Welsh Nationalism?"  
by H. W. J. Edwards, 7½d.  
And List of Publications.

PLAID CYMRU (Welsh Party) OFFICES  
8 QUEEN STREET CARDIFF

## I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1